1: Conzemius M-4, 5 (1921) 1932
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the pulp surrounding the wild cacao (*Theobroma bicolor* ?). This same writer (b: 308) likewise mentions a drink made from coconuts; it was sweetened by the addition of ripe plantains or wild honey.

## GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

There is no trace of any division in clans or exogamic kinship groups. The tribal organization of these primitive tribes was essentially along democratic lines.

In former days the Miskito do not appear to have been ruled by a supreme chief, except during war time, when a commander was chosen by an assembly of the old men, in order to direct the military operations (M. W.: 307). The choice fell generally upon a warrior celebrated for his prowess. According to Exquemelin (French edit.: II, 264) preference was given to an Indian who had accompanied the buccaneers, but with the restoration of peace his authority ceased.

In the legends of the Miskito there are records of individuals seizing the powers of government by violence. The insignia peculiar to a chieftainship seemed to consist of a wooden scepter and of a metal breastplate depending from the neck. The powers of the numerous priest-doctors (*sukya*) were also very great, but it is not known just how much they intervened in governmental affairs. It appears, however, that occasionally the temporal and spiritual heads were both centered in the same person.

Hereditary chiefs did not rule the Mosquito Coast until after the establishment of British influence. One of these chiefs, a Miskito, was later raised to the rank of king; he became a tool in the hands of his foreign protectors, with whose aid his nominal authority was extended over the larger part of the coast. A silver crown and a scepter of little intrinsic value were bestowed upon him by the British authorities of Jamaica. The rule of the Miskito "king" was absolutely despotic. His orders were carried out by his quartermasters (*kustmas*); the latter carried a cane or staff, which symbol of authority was apparently introduced by the English or Spaniards. A silver medal, sword, or anything else known to belong to the king would also do. Such a token established the credibility of the bearer and an immediate compliance with his orders. Foreign traders also applied to the king for such an object which served as a passport; every Indian was compelled to render him assistance, lodge him, sell him food, and furnish him with the means of continuing his journey, against reasonable pay. That the Indians of the interior did not pay much attention to such commands need hardly be told.

Besides the king, there were three other important rulers among the Miskito, who governed comparatively large areas and were known as "general," "governor," and "admiral." Numerous minor

1: Conzemius M-4, 5 (1921) 1932
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624 chiefs, called by the Miskito name *wita* or *wihta* (lit.: "head"), resided in the larger villages.

648 Now the government of the two republics, Honduras and Nicaragua, is represented by *comandantes*, who are invariably Ladinos. Indian *subcomandantes* are occasionally named in the larger areas, but their authority is practically insignificant. Some deference is also paid by the Indians to the elders of the settlements, and especially to the sukya. The officials despatched from Tegucigalpa or Managua are rarely of the better element, and have at times committed great abuses among the timid and peaceful aborigines. They are too frequently men of low morals who try to enrich themselves by imposing fines upon the Indians, which are put into their own pocket, or by compelling the natives to work for their personal benefit.

## LAWS: CRIME AND ITS PUNISHMENT

627 ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.—In former days the punishment of criminals was intrusted to the individual wronged rather than to special officers of justice. If the injured person did not take any steps to revenge himself he was considered a coward.

177 692 681 Toward the middle of the eighteenth century, when British influence spread to the "court" of the principal Miskito chief, special officers, known by the name *kwatmas* (from the English "quartermaster") were intrusted with the execution of government orders and the administration of justice. Punishment was inflicted in the shape of fines, flogging, and death by hanging; prisons were unknown. On their periodical visits these officers used to whip all the young people whom they could seize, in order to cure them of their laziness and stinginess, apparently whether they were guilty of the charge or not. This was called "teaching the people" (M.: *upla smalkaya;* S.: *môih sumalnia, môih sumalnaka*) and had the object of inculcating principles of good conduct and morality. An account of such proceedings is given by Bell (b: 278–282).

685 THEFT.—A thief was compelled according to Indian law to restore twice the value of the stolen object.

847 INFANTICIDE.—This was apparently not considered a crime in former days under certain circumstances. (See Children: Their Birth and Education.)

683 BODILY INJURY.—For any bodily injury, whether done intentionally or not, a payment of "blood money" (M.: *tala mana;* T., P.: *a minit;* U.: *awas makalnak*) was collected.

682 MURDER.—A murderer had to follow his victim into death. If he should not do so voluntarily, the relations of the murdered man might kill him without risk of punishment; besides, in that case, his memory would be dishonored. The *lex talionis* was applied rigidly.

3: Pijoan D-5 (ca. 1945) 1946
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with reference to the head, a custom which had not been practiced by the Miskito. It is no longer performed by the Sumu during the present day.

There is no trace of any division in clans or exogamic kinship groups. Before the conquest, the Miskito were not ruled by supreme chiefs, but in time of war the elders would chose some young warrior, noted for prowess, to guide the activities of the group. Generally, though, they were not a warlike people. Hereditary chiefs were introduced by the British and the ruler became despotic in activity. His orders would be carried out by quarter masters *(kwatmas)* or by other members of his staff. Foreign traders extended gifts to the Chief (King) for trading privileges and the Indians rendered assistance and taxes. However, the Indians in the interior paid but little attention to this hierarchy. Today there are village chiefs who guide the civic affairs of the community on what appears to be a democratic basis. Decisions are made as a result of council meetings where considerable discussion may take place.

The governments of the two republics, Honduras and Nicaragua, have territorial representatives known as comandantes and these are *Ladinos* (see Appendix B). The comandante may have other *Ladinos* on his staff or as is often the case works in close collaboration with the traders. In the upper Coco River the comandante is stationed at San Carlos. He patrols the area, listens to complaints and his decisions are autocratic. He is in military uniform and his status is one of army discipline. The various companies, i. e., fruit enterprises, rubber development agencies, etc., have many *Ladino* foremen who work in close harmony with the comandante. From the Indian point of view considerable friction exists between himself and the government representative. Since the Indians have no recourse with the Central Government, the jurisdiction of their problems rests with the territorial representative. The Indian complains that there is misappropriation of funds and that traders take endless advantage of them. Regardless of right or wrong, conflict exists and as such it is probably due to the lack of peoples' representation in territorial jurisdiction. Government education is at minimum, the various religious missions have generally performed this service to the better satisfaction of the Indians. The Indians live with great equality, there appears to be no rich or poor among them; they do not strive to accumulate wealth.

Within the villages themselves government takes place with the elders guided by a chief. A thief is compelled to restore stolen property and an adulterer pays a fine of a gun or a cow. Stealing is rare, except in the more urban areas and adultery is uncovered usually as a result